

THE
GROVER CLEVELAND
MEMORIAL



MARCH EIGHTEENTH
MCMIX



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*With the Compliments of
The Cleveland Memorial Committee*





THE
GROVER CLEVELAND
MEMORIAL

MARCH 18, 1909





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1903

Grover Cleveland

THE
GROVER CLEVELAND
MEMORIAL

THE EIGHTEENTH OF MARCH
IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND NINE

CARNEGIE HALL

THURSDAY AFTERNOON AT THREE O'CLOCK

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

THURSDAY EVENING AT EIGHT-FIFTEEN O'CLOCK

NEW YORK
MCMX

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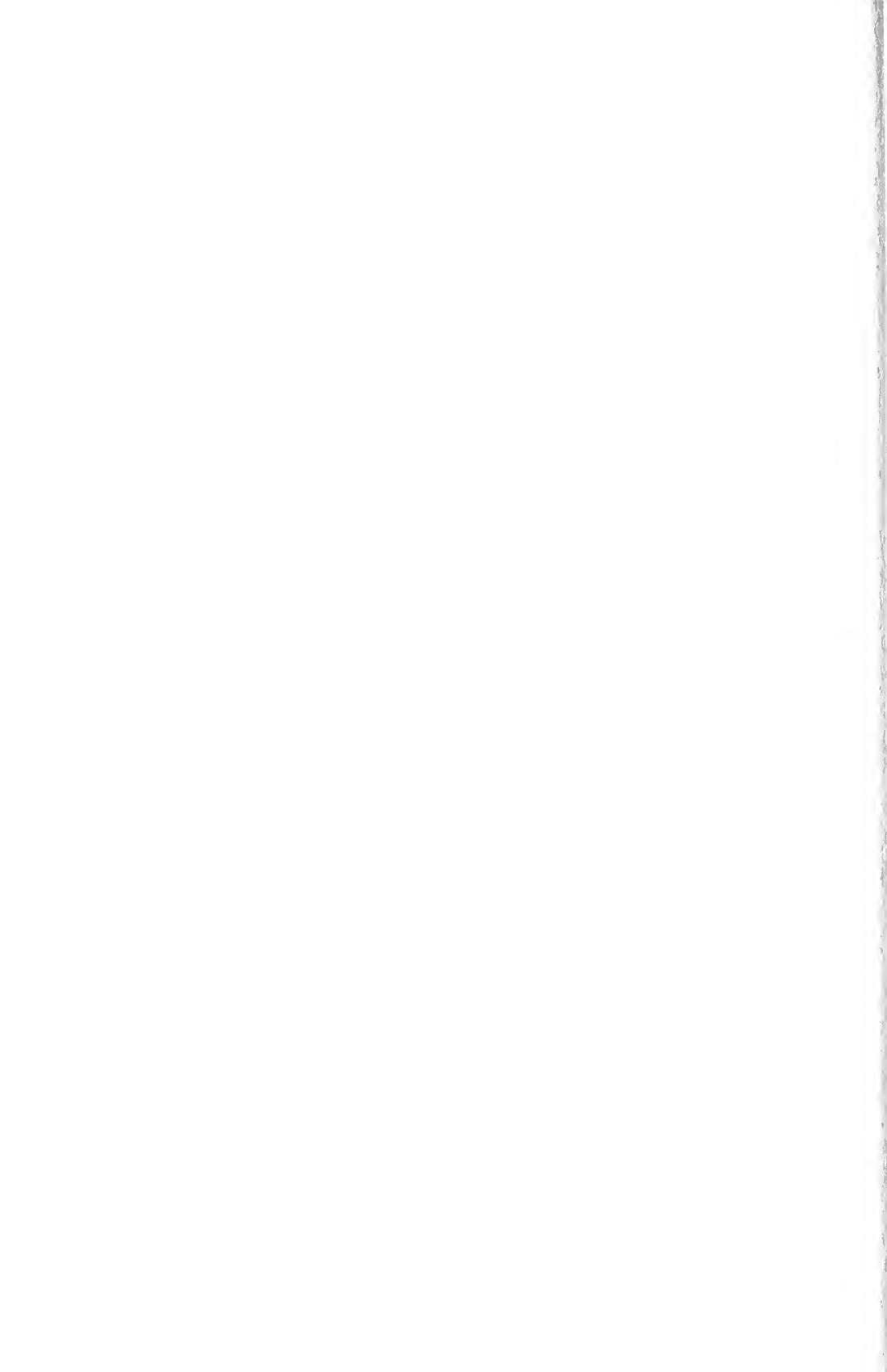
CONTENTS

CARNEGIE HALL

	PAGE
ORDER OF EXERCISES	xiii
THE REV. DR. WILLIAM ROGERS RICHARDS, INVOCATION	3
MAYOR McCLELLAN	6
GOVERNOR HUGHES	10
RICHARD WATSON GILDER	18
CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER	23
PRESIDENT TAFT	28
COLONEL ROOSEVELT, LETTER	38
THE REV. DR. SAMUEL SCHULMAN, BENEDICTION .	41

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

ORDER OF EXERCISES	44
EDWARD M. SHEPARD	45
MAYOR McCLELLAN	47
SENATOR ROOT	49
JUDGE GRAY	53
WILLIAM B. HORNBLOWER	65
THE REV. FATHER QUINN, S. J.	73



PORTRAITS

GROVER CLEVELAND (1903)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE REV. DR. WILLIAM ROGERS RICHARDS .	<i>facing page</i> 3
FRANCIS LYNDE STETSON	" 4
MAYOR McCLELLAN	" 6
GOVERNOR HUGHES	" 10
RICHARD WATSON GILDER	" 18
CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER	" 23
PRESIDENT TAFT	" 28
THEODORE ROOSEVELT	" 38
THE REV. DR. SAMUEL SCHULMAN	" 41
GROVER CLEVELAND (1892)	" 43
EDWARD M. SHEPARD	" 45
SENATOR ROOT	" 49
JUDGE GRAY	" 53
WILLIAM B. HORNBLOWER	" 65



THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES



MAYOR McCLELLAN WILL PRESIDE

ADDRESSES WILL BE MADE BY

PRESIDENT TAFT, BY CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER AND BY GOVERNOR HUGHES

MR. RICHARD WATSON GILDER WILL READ A POEM

THE INVOCATION WILL BE OFFERED BY THE REVEREND DOCTOR

WILLIAM ROGERS RICHARDS

AND THE BENEDICTION WILL BE PRONOUNCED BY

THE REVEREND DOCTOR SAMUEL SCHULMAN

MR. WALTER DAMROSCH WITH HIS ORCHESTRA, SUPPLEMENTED BY
ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY VOICES OF THE LIEDERKRANZ SOCIETY,

WILL PROVIDE THE MUSIC

THE EXIGENCIES OF PREPARATION FOR THE EVENT REQUIRE THAT

DELAY IN ACCEPTANCE BE REGARDED AS A DECLINATION

DeLANCEY NICOLL,
Secretary.

CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

FRONT

25 23 21 19 17 15 13 11 9 7 5 3 1 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22

PLATFORM SEATING ARRANGEMENT ON MARCH 18, 1909

	Seat	Seat	
The Chairman of the Committee	1	2	The President
The Mayor of New York	5	3	The Governor of New York
The Hon. Alton B. Parker	4	6	The Chief Justice
Mr. Carnegie	9	7	The Hon. Richard Olney
Mr. Richard Watson Gilder	8	10	The Rev. Doctor William Rogers Richards
The Rev. Doctor Samuel Schulman	13	11	Mr. Nathan Straus
President Woodrow Wilson	17	15	Judge George Gray
Mr. John A. Stewart	12	14	The Rev. Lyman Abbott
The Hon. Paul Morton	19	21	The Hon. William F. Harrity
Mr. William B. Hornblower	16	18	The Governor of New Jersey
The Hon. Charles S. Fairchild	23	25	The Hon. George B. Cortelyou
The Hon. Denis O'Brien	20	22	Mr. Justice Peckham

ORDER OF EXERCISES

The New York Symphony Orchestra
Walter Damrosch, *Conductor*

The German Liederkranz

Arthur Claassen, *Conductor*

Otto A. Graff, *Organist*

THE
GROVER CLEVELAND
MEMORIAL



John Richardson.

CARNEGIE HALL

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 18, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE

THE divine blessing will now be invoked by the Rev. Dr. Richards.

INVOCATION

THE REV. DR. WILLIAM ROGERS RICHARDS

LET us pray. Almighty God, giver of all mercies, we thank Thee for the great kindness that Thou hast shown to this land in granting us freedom and in establishing the nation in justice by the people's will. We also thank Thee that when perplexity and danger have come upon us Thou hast ever raised up for our deliverance men wise to know Thy will and strong and ever courageous in the doing of it. We give Thee thanks this day for the memory of a man who stood in that succession. We pray that Thou wilt guide and bless us in all that we do to-day to bring his name and example before the minds of the people. May those virtues which we have learned to love and honor in him become

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

more common among us. May such men never be wanting to serve the nation's need. We beseech Thee that Thy favor may not depart from us. Bless Thy servant, the President, and all those in authority, and all the people of these United States, that we may ever incline to Thy will and walk in Thy way. May reverence and justice and freedom and charity and courage be ever with us and give us peace with each other and with all the nations of the earth. We ask it in the name of Him who has died when we pray and say, Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. *Amen.*

HYMN, *Largo Handel*

CHORUS AND ORGAN

THE CHAIRMAN

TWICE within this year of notable commemorations our city, through its patriotic Mayor and Board of Aldermen, has called the people together to honor the memory of a great President of the United States. Upon the centenary of Abraham Lincoln,



Francis Lyman Stevenson

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

liberator, Union saver, and protomartyr, the story of his great life learned from the written and the printed page was told and was heard by those who for the most part were born since the date of his tragic death. Upon this seventy-second anniversary of the birth of Grover Cleveland his friends and neighbors, familiar with his features, acquainted with the nobility of his character and his devout patriotism, meet together to pay their sincere tribute of affection to his beloved and revered memory.

He was great as Mayor, as Governor, as President; and here graciously have come the Mayor, the Governor, and the President, and the venerable Chief Justice who administered to him and to his successors the solemn Presidential oath; and here, too, has come a letter from that impressive and striking personality who has succeeded to the solitary place of ex-President, so long filled by our beloved friend.

All of these you will hear during this meeting under the direction of his Honor the Mayor, whom now it is my privilege to present to you as Chairman of the day. [*Applause.*]

THE HON. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN
MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have met in behalf and in the name of the people of New York to commemorate Grover Cleveland on this the seventy-second anniversary of his birth. He was our Governor, twice our President, sometime our fellow-townsman.

This meeting has been called in response to a popular desire that there should be some public expression of the affection and honor in which we held the man, of the loving reverence in which we hold his memory.

Of the many Presidents of the United States some have been abler and stronger and greater than others, but all have been above mediocrity, not one of them has failed to grapple successfully with the problems which have confronted him, not one of them but has been worthy of the time in which he lived. Yet, of them all, five stand in a class apart, because they more nearly represent their periods, more fully express the hopes, the aspirations, and the ideals of their contemporaries: Washington, the Father, who brought our government into being; Jefferson, the republican, who saved us from an aristocracy; Jackson, the man of the people, who made our government one of the people; Lincoln,



Yours very truly
Lester Cullen
Dec 29/09

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

the unifier, who saved it a government for the people; and Cleveland, the democrat, who emphasized that for which he lived, in giving us a government by the people. All five enunciated political principles that have been so generally accepted that they are to-day part of the traditions of our government.

To the principles for which Cleveland lived and fought and wrought, his name has been given. Clevelandism has been described as being nothing but the expression of the every-day and of the commonplace, and so it is, for it is the enunciation of right living and thinking and doing, of rugged honesty and integrity in thought and word and deed, in private life and in public affairs, of plain speaking and plain dealing, of sincerity of purpose and absolute certainty of the righteousness of its cause—all homely, every-day, commonplace virtues.

There is nothing new about Clevelandism. It has guided men as long as we have been a race and will continue to guide men as long as our race endures. The spirit of Clevelandism was present at Runnymede, which saw the dawn of English liberty through the efforts of every-day, commonplace English country gentlemen. The men who rode with Oliver Cromwell and brought modern England into being were only every-day, commonplace English tradesmen and yeomen. Our Revolution, which began with the Declaration of Independence and reached its full fruition with the adoption of

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

the Constitution, was the work of every-day, commonplace Colonials. Our Civil War was fought and won and lost by every-day, commonplace Americans from the cotton-fields of the South and the wheat-fields of the North, from the workshop and the factory and the streets. The spirit of the every-day and of the commonplace has saved us many a time in the past and will save us many a time in the days to come.

The men who have left their impress upon the history of our race, who have helped to mold us in our development as a nation, have not been the erratic, eccentric geniuses, but the slow-thinking and conservative men of wisdom and sober thought.

The men who are our real heroes, the men who live in the hearts of the American people, are not those who dwell in Olympus, aloof, inimitable and unattainable, but the men who live upon the earth, who are of the earth, earthy, who are as human as we are, the men in whom we see our weaknesses and shortcomings and failings minimized, but our strength and our virtues glorified; not the men whom we know we cannot be like and would not if we could, but the men we know we are like in a small degree and in whose footsteps we follow a great way off. The men whose names are most often heard in the homes of the American people are the three who most nearly represented the essential characteristics of the American race—Washington, Lincoln, Cleveland.

The hold which Grover Cleveland obtained and

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

retained upon the hearts of his countrymen was not so much because of what he did as because of what he was. The people saw in him their ideal of what an American ought to be; they saw in him the homely, every-day, commonplace virtues that their mothers taught them when they were children and that they in their turn teach their sons. They saw in him the type of man they would like to be themselves, and in what he did and tried to do they saw the strivings of a man who was the concrete embodiment of our country.

The world is better because he lived, for he succeeded in his life's mission. He carried the people whom he served and loved a little forward, a little upward, a little nearer to their God.

MAYOR McCLELLAN: I have the honor to introduce to you his Excellency the Governor of New York.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES E. HUGHES
THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are met to-day to pay a just tribute to a great hero of civil administration, who was not introduced to the favor of his countrymen by military achievement, who had not been associated with any great strife, with enemies abroad or within our bounds, who stands preëminently a great figure of peace unidentified in our country's history with those conflicts which have given us many of the men whom we admire as our national heroes. It is precisely in that fact, and in the contribution that he made to our life within those limits, that we find the significance of this meeting.

The fame of Grover Cleveland is secure because of the ruggedness, the simplicity of his character, and because of his inflexible determination in executing his honest judgment. Others may more appropriately speak at this time of his relation to national affairs, and the great part that he played as twice President of the United States, but it is



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Very Sincerely Yours
Charles E. Hughes
Dec 28, 1909



THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

well that in this city we should recall the service which he rendered to the State of New York as Mayor of one of its important municipalities and as chief executive of the State. He was not born in New York, but his early years were spent here. Here he laid the foundation for his future work; here he was trained in the arduous labors of his profession, and here he indicated the principles which commended him to the confidence of the country at large. He was favored in his early life. His was not an adventurous youth; it does not contain a sensational episode; his was not the fortune of a luxurious home, nor did he even have the average advantages so far as education was concerned. His was the training of the village, of the village school, of the work of the humble clerk, of self-progress through constant devotion to the task of the day and preparation through self-culture for the task of the morrow. But he was fortunate because he was reared in a Christian household inspired by the highest ideals, and had his youthful training under conditions which neither made him the victim of extreme poverty on the one hand or of extraordinary temptation on the other. He represents in his early life the opportunity afforded to thousands, indeed millions, of our young men. His was not the extraordinary career of a Lincoln; his was not the grinding poverty from which some of our great men have emerged. He was the son of an honest clergyman with a considerable family, and received the training which most American boys are

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

privileged to have, and so, after spending some years in Oneida County and other places in the upper part of the State, he went to Buffalo and for a long period after he had been admitted to the bar practised his profession. He was elected in 1881 as Mayor of Buffalo simply because of the credit he had established with his fellow-citizens as a man of high ability, sound judgment, and absolute integrity. He took the trying position of chief executive of the municipality with certain principles. What he exhibited there in that narrower sphere was precisely what he displayed in the largest sphere of action which the country affords. He was the same man in the Mayor's office at Buffalo as he was in the White House, and the messages which he sent to the Common Council of the city were phrased with the same determination, vigor, and expression of principle which characterize his later and more important official utterances.

Our public men as time passes do not become identified in the memory of the people so closely with the particular policies with which their public life has been intimately connected; the particular policies of the day are remembered by students, are discussed in special assemblies, but with the people at large the man in public life, if he is remembered at all, is remembered because of his adherence to the fundamental principles we all recognize, and because of the impression made by the sterling worth of his character. It is precisely for that reason that we have confidence in the future of the Republic.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

We judge our chances of success in this experiment of popular government by the sort of men we revere, and to-day we honor ourselves because we honor Grover Cleveland.

He was a man who had firmly fixed in his mind the idea that a public officer was a public servant, a delegate of the people to perform certain duties prescribed by the Constitution and the statutes; that he was the representative of the constituency, and not for the purpose of furthering selfish ambitions or of exploiting particular schemes or helping himself or his friends to positions of advantage, but solely to do what, according to our traditions and principles of government, the officer in the particular place was appointed or elected to do. He could express himself trenchantly. He had no fear. You may recall the words in which he vetoed a certain proposition of the Common Council of Buffalo. He says in his veto message:

This is a time for plain speech, and my objection to the action of your honorable body, now under consideration, shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent from the same because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money.

That was Grover Cleveland in Buffalo in 1882. Again and again he addressed to the Common Council of his city plain reminders of their obvious duty, but couched in such vigorous and sincere

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

terms that he won completely the confidence of his community without respect to party. The result was that when the Democratic convention met after Mr. Cleveland had for a time held the office of Mayor of Buffalo, there was no difficulty in persuading it that he was the man to be selected as the candidate for the office of Governor. Mr. Cleveland constantly in his public addresses emphasized the fact that whatever the office might be, whether mayor or governor, the conception of its duties with regard to the principles underlying it was precisely the same. So he went to Albany, and there he continually presented to the public, to the Legislature in official documents and in his addresses, this proposition which had so completely captured his imagination, the proposition of the public officer doing that which he was elected to do. He had also certain ideas which he emphasized and which we must recognize as important contributions to the life of the State. For example, he spoke of the importance of the different communities of the State having an opportunity to develop their local life. Said he:

I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the Legislature with the government of the municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that, when the citizens of any section of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Closely associated with that principle which he constantly emphasized was his effort to prevent unnecessary special legislation. Again and again he sent messages to the Legislature voicing his protest against the iniquity of unnecessary bills interfering in matters concerning the freedom of the local community. Said he in one message:

Another evil which has a most pernicious influence on legislation is the introduction and consideration of bills purely local in their character, affecting only special interests, and which ought not upon any pretext to be permitted to encumber the statutes of the State. Every consideration of expediency, as well as the language and evident intent of the Constitution, dictate the exclusion of such matters from legislative consideration. Their consideration retards the business of the session and occupies time which should be devoted to better purposes. And this is not the worst result that may follow in their train. Such measures, there is ground to suspect, are frequently made the means of securing, by a promise of aid in their passage, the votes of those who introduce them, in favor of other and more vicious legislation.

I speak of these matters because it is important, these days when we pay appropriate tribute to the men who have honored us in public stations, that we should endeavor to reset the scene, to reconstruct the life, to come close to the living man and understand exactly the principles that move him, and not

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

consume our time in vain eulogy without the inspiration and encouragement of a proper understanding of his actual conduct.

We notice in addition as one of the principles of Mr. Cleveland's official conduct that there should be absolute justice in dealing with all of the creatures of the State and all who receive privileges from the State. On account of certain of his official actions there was a time when he was severely criticized as a friend of corporations, and it was supposed by some, indeed stated by some, that his official action was prompted because of his desire to protect them. Never was there a more unwarranted misconstruction of a public man of sincere purpose and integrity. In one case where he vetoed a bill which the public, or a certain portion of them, very much desired, he explained that his reason was that the State of New York must in all cases keep faith, and that the action there proposed was an act of infidelity, an act betraying what they had most solemnly promised. His general attitude toward corporations may be illustrated in this statement which appears in one of his messages:

The State [he says] creates these corporations upon the theory that some proper thing of benefit can be better done by them than by private enterprise, and that the aggregation of the funds of many individuals may be thus profitably employed. They are launched upon the public with the seal of the State in some sense upon them. They are permitted to represent the advantages they possess and

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

the wealth sure to follow from admission to membership. It is a grave question whether the formation of these artificial bodies ought not to be checked, or better regulated and in some way supervised. At any rate, they should always be kept well in hand, and the funds of its citizens should be protected by the State which has invited their investment. While the stockholders are the owners of the corporate property, notoriously they are often-times completely in the power of the directors and managers. Acting within their legitimate sphere they should be protected, but whenever oppression appears, authority should be created to check it and prevent it.

Grover Cleveland was a man who believed that public office was a public trust; that local communities should govern themselves; that in every official position there should be the highest efficiency through a proper method of obtaining civil service; and that every one with whom the State was called upon to deal should be dealt with with absolute justice and with regard for the supreme public interest. We can never grow so large, and the importance of emphasizing the rule of the people can never become so great, that we can afford to forget those principles that are illustrated in the life-work of Grover Cleveland as the Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York better than in any other public servant this State has ever had. It is because I deem it proper in my official position to emphasize these matters that I have brought them closely to your attention. We must remember that when

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

Grover Cleveland was uttering, as the Mayor has said, commonplaces, he was announcing fundamental principles. He announced what others had announced before him. The principles for which he stood had long been recognized, but he sincerely, nobly, and vigorously applied them, and while we pay tribute to the memory of Grover Cleveland, twice President of the United States, honored man of the nation, let us not forget our great indebtedness to Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York.

MUSIC,

Andante from Fifth Symphony . . *Beethoven*

ORCHESTRA

MAYOR McCLELLAN: The poem written for this day will be read by its author. I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Richard Watson Gilder.

MR. GILDER read the following poem:



CLEVELAND

I

HE shrank from praise, this simple-hearted man—
Therefore we praise him! Yet, as he would wish,
Chiefly our praise not for the things he did,
But for his spirit in doing. Ah, great heart,
And humble! Great and simple heart! forgive
The homage we may not withhold! Strong soul!
Thou brave and faithful servant of the State,
Who labored day and night in little things,
No less than large, for the loved country's sake,
With patient hand that plodded while others slept!
Who flung to the winds preferment and the future,
Daring to put clear truth to the perilous test,
Fearing no scathe if but the people gained,
And happiest far in sacrifice and loss.
Yes, happiest he when, plain in all men's sight,
He turned contemptuous from the lure of place,
Spurning the laurel that should crown success
Soiled by surrender and a perjured soul.

II

The people! Never once his faith was dimmed
In them his countrymen; ah, never once;
For if doubt shook him, 't was but a fleeting mood;
Though others wavered, never wavered he.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

Though madness, like a flood, swept o'er the land,
This way, now that; though love of self subdued
The civic conscience, still he held his faith,
Unfaltering, in man's true-heartedness,
And in the final judgment of free men.

III

Firm with the powerful, gentle with the weak,
His was the sweetness of the strong! His voice
Took tenderness in speech with little folk,
And he was pitiful of man and brute.
So, for the struggle with high things of state,
He strengthened his own heart with kindly deeds—
His own heart strengthened for stern acts of power
That, fashioned in the secret place of thought,
And in the lonely and the silent shrine
Of conscience, came momentous on the world:
Built stronger the foundations of the State;
Upheld the word of Honor, no whit less
'Twixt nation and nation than 'twixt man and man;
Held righteousness the one law of the world,
And higher set the hopes of all mankind.

IV

Lonely the heart that listens to no voice
Save that of Duty; lonely he how oft
When, turning from the smooth, advised path,
He climbed the chill and solitary way;
Wondering that any wondered, when so clear

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

The light that led—the light of perfect faith
And passion for the right, that fire of heaven
Wherein self dies, and only truth lives on!
Lonely how oft when, with the statesman's art,
He waited for the fullness of the time,
And wrought the good he willed by slow degrees,
And in due order conquered wrong on wrong.
Lonely how oft when 'mid dark disesteem
He moved straightforward to a longed-for goal,
Doing each day the best he might, with vision
Firm fixt above, kept pure by pure intent.

v

Some souls are built to take the shocks of the world,
To interpose against blind currents of fate,
Or wrath, or ignorant purpose, a fixt will;
Against the bursting storm a front of calm;
As, when the Atlantic rages, some stern cliff
Hurls back the tempest and the ponderous wave.
So stood he firm when lesser wills were broken;
So he endured when others failed and fell;
Bearing, in silent suffering, the stress,
The blame, the burden of the fateful day.

VI

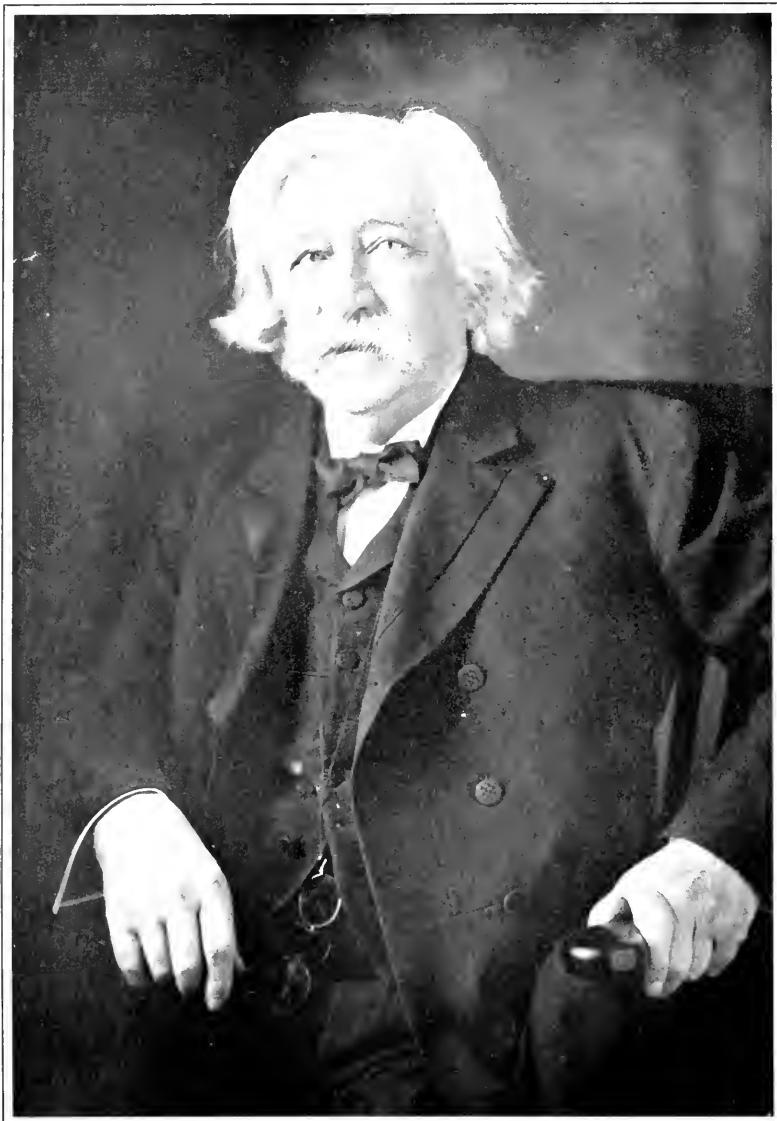
So single and so simple was his mind,
So unperturbed by learned subtleties
And so devout of justice and the right—
His thought, his act, held something of the prime;

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

The wide, sure vision of the ancient day
Prophetic; even a touch of nature's force—
Large, elemental, healing; builded well
On the deep bases of humanity.

VII

O strong oak riven! O tower of defense
Fallen! O captain of the hosts struck down!
O cries of lamentation—turning swift
To sounds of triumph and great victories!
For unto the hands of one of humble soul
Great trust was laid, and he that trust fulfilled.
So he who died accomplished mighty deeds,
And he who fought has won the infinite peace,
And sleeps enshrined in his own people's hearts,
And in the praise of nations and the world,
And rests immortal among the immortal Great.



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Albert M. Palmer

MAYOR McCLELLAN: *Ladies and Gentlemen:* I have the honor to introduce to you the Chief Justice of the United States.

ADDRESS OF CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER

IN announcing to the people of the United States the sad tidings of the death of General Grant, President Cleveland said that, whether as a soldier or as a Chief Magistrate, the illustrious deceased "trod unswervingly the pathway of duty, undeterred by doubts, single-minded and straightforward."

In these words Mr. Cleveland indicated the qualities he thought most commendable in a public servant, and in eulogizing another unconsciously portrayed himself, for he was single-minded, and straightforward, and unswerving, and nothing doubting, in his adherence to duty.

He never doubted that the conduct of public affairs should be governed by the principles of honor and truthfulness and honest dealing—in short, the principles applicable to the discharge of trusts—and he regarded public office as a public trust.

At the same time he fully recognized the necessity of political parties, whose conflicts over general principles resulted in that golden mean which

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

gives peace, prosperity, and success to the government of the people.

I should say that President Jefferson's first inaugural embodied, in a general way, President Cleveland's political views, including the belief that when the elections were over all should unite in common efforts for the common good.

Nevertheless he often declared, in a party sense, that he was a Democrat. He did not seem to think that that word, as he used it, needed any explanation, though, if it did, he repeatedly gave it, as, for instance, in his letter to Mr. MacVeagh on the occasion of the Jackson Day Celebration at Chicago in 1897, when he wrote:

At such a time it should be impressively taught that Democracy is not disorder; that its regard for popular rights does not mean the care of only a portion of our people; that its loyalty to the Constitution and law does not mean a petulant challenge of the duty of civic obedience; that its aggressiveness does not mean class hatred and sectional vituperation; and that its success should never mean mere partizan triumph at the sacrifice of principle and patriotism.

How like the man that is! It shows the comforting idealism back of its political utterances, while, like them, it is good old-fashioned plain talk, without any taint of subtlety about it.

Holding the views that he did, and being a last-ditch fighter, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that many of his followers attacked instead of sup-

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

ported him, and, as they could not catch him asleep, violently sought to throw him overboard; but, like Palinurus, in that particular he carried his rudder with him, and, riding the tempestuous seas triumphantly, regained the ship and brought her safely into port.

The truth is that the people, whom he loved so well, like a man, and Cleveland was a man, and of course as such to be trusted, and they knew it. The sober second thought, the salvation of the republic, came up in full tide, and whatever its ebb and flow during the tribulations of his second term, it vindicated his heroic maintenance of the conviction that because right is right to follow right is wisdom in the scorn of consequence.

Think for a moment how he stood like a rock for the public credit in the financial upheaval arising from the silver excitement, which had swept away the majority of his own party; how he put down the Chicago riots; how he averted threatened national bankruptcy by the issue of bonds; how he faced with calm serenity torrents of personal abuse, desertion of friends, misapprehension in the public mind, and resolutely discarded the temporary expediencies of the mere politician.

Doubtless, though he suppressed the evidence of it, he felt keenly the personal attacks upon him, for, serious-minded as he was, it is an egregious mistake to assume that he was lacking in tender emotions. I recall an incident strikingly illustrative of this, which I must be pardoned for relating.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

At the remarkable Centennial Celebration of the Organization of the Federal Judiciary, held in New York, February 4, 1890, over which Mr. Cleveland presided with great dignity, the eminent jurist and eloquent speaker, Mr. Edward J. Phelps, in the course of one of the formal addresses delivered on that occasion, turning to Mr. Cleveland and the court, referred to Chatham's declaration that the poor man's cabin was his castle—the wind might enter it, the rain might enter it, but the King of England could not enter it—and said that the great statesman and orator did not say that the Parliament of Great Britain might not enter it, yet here in America was a court to which the poor man might resort, whose judgment, pronounced in the due course of judicial proceedings, could bar the entrance of the Congress if its action were held to be contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

I happened to glance at Mr. Cleveland, and the tears were rolling down his face.

But at last the long day's work was over and he laid his armor off, retiring for his well-earned repose to that abode of scholars, Princeton, in his native State of New Jersey.

Although making no claim to scholarship as such, he characteristically sought rest in intercourse with scholars and in quiet meditation over the lessons taught by battles far away.

And then came the reaction, and before his weary eyes were closed on earth it was vouchsafed to him to know that his courage, his strength of purpose,

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

his fidelity to duty, were fully recognized, and that he was reaping the reward of the good and faithful servant.

He was indeed a great man, and it was character that made him great—character, which Emerson describes as “a reserved force, which acts directly by pressure and without means,” “a certain undemonstrable force, a Familiar or Genius, by whose impulses the man is guided” and accomplishes things by a sort of magnetism. Washington had it, and Lincoln had it, and the people have always finally acknowledged it.

It is very right that this tribute is paid to him, and that the President of the United States and the Governor of the State of New York, the successor of Mr. Cleveland, have joined in it. I find in the President that adherence to duty and those plain and practical utterances that were Mr. Cleveland's, and I mark with delight the salutary influence on the Governor of the fearlessness of his illustrious predecessor.

At the simple rites with which he was committed to the grave, Wordsworth's poem of “The Happy Warrior” was read, and, applicable as it was, I still could not help thinking of Valiant-for-truth's last words:

My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me to be a witness for me that I have fought His battles that will now be my rewarder.

MAYOR McCLELLAN: *Ladies and Gentlemen:*
Gentlemen, I ask you to arise and receive our
Chief Magistrate. I have the honor to present
you to the President.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF
THE UNITED STATES

GROVER CLEVELAND was as completely American in his character as Lincoln. Without a college education, he prepared himself for the bar. His life was confined to western New York. His vision of government and of society was not widened by foreign travel. He was a pure product of the village and town life of the Middle States, affected by New England ancestry and the atmosphere of a clergyman's home. His chief characteristics were simplicity and directness of thought, sturdy honesty, courage of his convictions, and plainness of speech, with a sense of public duty that has been exceeded by no statesman within my knowledge. It was so strong in him that he rarely wrote anything, whether in the form of a private or public communication, that the obligation of all men to observe the public interest was not his chief theme.

His career was a most remarkable one. By his administration of the affairs of his city as its Mayor, he showed his power of resistance to, and



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dearly yours Wm. H. Taft
Dec. 27, 1907

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

of overcoming the influence that made for, corruption and negligence in city government, both in his own party and in the party of his opponents. His reputation in this regard spread over the State of New York at a time when such an attitude as his seemed exceptional, and his standing before the community became a political asset for the Democratic party, that even those who had but little sympathy with his principles were glad to seize upon as a means of getting into power. Accordingly, he was nominated for the governorship, and was elected by the votes not only of his own party but of hundreds of thousands of the Republican party. The discharge of his duties as Governor confirmed and strengthened the reputation that he had acquired as Mayor. Before he had ceased his office as Mayor, he had been elected Governor. Before he had ceased his office as Governor, he had been elected President of the United States.

The Presidential campaign of 1884 degenerated into one of slander, scandal, and abuse, but Mr. Cleveland came through it, retaining the confidence of the American people in his courage and honesty and his single purpose to better the public service.

Mr. Cleveland was a Democrat. He was a partisan. He believed in parties, as all men must who understand the machinery essential to the success and efficiency of popular government. His impulses were all toward the merit system of appointments in the public service, and against the spoils system; but he had a practical, common-sense view

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

of the problems before him. He dealt with the instruments which he had, and he not infrequently was obliged, in order to accomplish greater objects, to yield to the demands of those who had no ideals, and who were impatient of anything but the use of government offices as a purely political reward. Every time that opportunity offered, however, and there was not some greater object in immediate view, he strengthened and assisted the movement toward the merit system.

Mr. Cleveland's political career was so short that he had a great advantage over the prominent men of his party whose records reached back into, and were governed by, the bitter quarrels of the Civil War. As a political quantity, his history began during the corruption and demoralization in the Republican party which were a necessary result of continued power during the war and the decade succeeding it. He represented in a sense a new Democracy, about which all the older elements rallied, both those strongly in sympathy with his reform views, and those elements without such sympathy, who were anxious to secure party power.

At the end of his first term he was renominated, but was beaten by General Harrison in a close vote. By that time the politicians of the old school in the Democratic party had drawn away from him, and had no desire to continue his leadership. But so strong a hold had he upon the affections and confidence of the rank and file of his party, and

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

so sure were they that he was stronger than the party in an electoral contest, that he was nominated in the National Convention against the desires of most of the State organization leaders; and in the election which followed he led his party to the greatest victory in its history.

In this campaign Mr. Cleveland stood for an affirmative idea, that of a reduction of the tariff, so as to make it a tariff for revenue. He attacked the protective theory and system. He stood for something aggressive and affirmative. It was in accordance with the ancient traditions of the party.

I do not need to enter into a discussion of the merits of the issue, but comment on it only as illustrating Mr. Cleveland's character. He was positive. He was affirmative. He was courageous. He believed in parties. He believed in party policies, and he believed in consistency in regard to them, and he did not believe in trimming down a policy to catch the votes of those who really did not agree with it.

The first time Mr. Cleveland was in power he was opposed by a Republican Senate. This gave little opportunity for any radical change by legislation in the previous policies of Republican administrations, but it did offer an opportunity for Mr. Cleveland to point out to the country the fact that our government is a government of three distinct branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, and that the executive has a sphere which the legislative branch has no right to invade.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

We hear much in these days of the usurpation of the legislative jurisdiction by the executive branch. As long as the legislative branch has the power of the purse, the danger of executive usurpation is imaginative. The real danger arises from the disposition of the legislative branch to assume that it has the omnipotence of Parliament and may completely control the discretion conferred upon the executive by the Constitution. The country is under obligation to Mr. Cleveland for having pointed out, in his controversy with the Republican Senate, some of the limitations that there are in the Constitution upon attempted legislative action to restrict executive discretion. In the end Mr. Cleveland won in his controversy with the Senate. Whether he might have done so, had both the House and the Senate been against him, is a matter of doubt. The history of Andrew Johnson's controversy with Congress shows how far a partisan legislature may be induced to go in an unconstitutional attempt to cut down executive power. The limit of legislative restriction upon executive action is a difficult line to define. Any one who attempts to do more than to pass on single instances as they arise may find himself in great difficulty, but as such instances are considered and decided, the limits are gradually being defined. We owe to Mr. Cleveland and his courage in dealing with the Senate of the United States the establishment of some useful precedents.

In Mr. Cleveland's second term there was a large

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

majority of his party in the House and a working majority in the Senate, so that the whole responsibility of government fell upon the Democracy, with Mr. Cleveland at its head. The significance of his second administration centers about three issues. The first was the tariff; the second, free silver; and the third, the suppression of lawlessness directed against Federal authority by use of the process of Federal courts and by Federal troops. The same influence in his own party which had sought to defeat Mr. Cleveland for nomination in his third canvass, he found intrenched in the Senate so strongly as to be able to defeat the declared policy of his party in favor of a revenue tariff, and he refused to sign the Gorman-Wilson Bill, but allowed it to become a law after denouncing it as the result of perfidy and dishonor. This was doubtless the greatest disappointment of his political life, for it destroyed the opportunity to test the wisdom of the party policy advocated by him and declared in the party platform, while the business depression which existed before and after its passage furnished ammunition to his political opponents, who did not hesitate to argue that the prospect of a revenue tariff on the one hand and the passage of the actual Gorman-Wilson Bill on the other had paralyzed the industries of the country. Whatever one's views upon the tariff, whether he be a protectionist or a free-trader, he cannot but have the deepest sympathy with Mr. Cleveland in his deep indignation at the party disloyalty which defeated the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

Wilson Bill as it passed the House, and gave us the nondescript bill which became the law.

But there was a rising in the Democratic party at the time, especially in the western and southern parts of the country, a desire for economic remedy which should cure everything in our business and body politic. This was the movement in favor of the free coinage of silver. The Republican party and some of its leaders in the West and South had not been free from weakness in this respect, and the law for the monthly purchases of \$2,000,000 of silver hung like a stone around the neck of the country. Mr. Cleveland used all the authority that he could command as the Executive to bring about a repeal of this law, and he finally succeeded. The deep gratitude of the country is due to him for this result. Without it disaster would have come. Without it the credit of the country could not have been sustained, and there would have been a blot on our financial escutcheon. But when Mr. Cleveland succeeded in securing the repeal of the Sherman Act, it seemed as if his control over the party with respect to the monetary issue had been exhausted. His party became hopelessly divided, and the majority of it declared in favor of the free coinage of silver, a policy which we know to-day, and which we ought to have known then, was nothing but a policy of repudiation. It was a policy completely contrary to the ancient and traditional views of the old Democratic party. It was a departure from the plainest principles of honesty to those who fore-

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

saw its effect in repudiation and scaling down of public and private debts by legislative fiat. It was a policy which has taken away from the Democratic party the confidence of the business community, whether previously Democratic or Republican. It presented a moral issue so sharp, so clear, as completely to destroy party fealty and party attachments. It took away from the Democratic party that strong, conservative element of which Mr. Cleveland was the leader, and it made it for the time a party which seemed to threaten the foundation of honest business and of honest government. It seemed to make its campaign in 1896 and 1900 an assault upon that which was best in our civilization. In my judgment, the safety of the Republic was threatened by the breaking up of the Democratic party into its radical and conservative elements.

In the campaigns of Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland and of Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, every one felt, however deep his partizan desires, that the institutions of the country, as established by the fathers, would be preserved under the leadership of either party; but in the campaign of 1896, and the one which followed it, there was certainly no such confidence on the part of the men who voted for Mr. McKinley. It seemed to be an issue in which the permanence of our institutions was involved. In this light, it was an unfortunate day for the Republic when the leadership of the Democracy passed from Mr. Cleveland.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

The patriotic spirit which moved those under Mr. Cleveland's leadership to break from party ties and save the country from repudiation entitled them and him to our everlasting gratitude.

Another great debt which the country owes to Mr. Cleveland is the assertion, made through him as its Chief Executive, of the power of the Federal Government directly to defend the Federal jurisdiction, through the process of Federal courts and by Federal troops, against the lawless invasion of a mob. Mr. Cleveland was a Democrat and of course respected the traditional construction of the Constitution by the party; but no fear of apparent inconsistency prevented him from asserting the full Federal power to maintain its authority to suppress lawlessness when directed against Federal right and Federal jurisdiction; and so he instituted proceedings in the Federal courts to restrain the Debs boycott of the country, the tying up of interstate commerce, and the interference with the mails, and he sent the troops under General Miles to Chicago to make his assertion of the power effective. It cost him the support of the thoughtless whose sympathy against the unjust aggressions of corporate power and wealth makes them wink at the lawless invasion of vested rights. But he succeeded in stopping what had really grown to the proportions of an insurrection. The highest tribunal created by the Constitution to fix the limits of State and national authority completely sustained his course. There were some other issues in his admin-

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

istration; there were other controversies in which he took part in his political life, but time permits me only to discuss those which I have referred to.

Grover Cleveland earned the sincere gratitude of his countrymen and justified recurring memorial occasions like the one in which we are taking part. He was a great President, not because he was a great lawyer, not because he was a brilliant orator, not because he was a statesman of profound learning, but because he was a patriot with the highest sense of public duty, because he was a statesman of clear perceptions, of the utmost courage of his convictions, and of great plainness of speech; because he was a man of the highest character, a father and husband of the best type, and because throughout his political life he showed those rugged virtues of the public servant and citizen, the emulation of which by those who follow him will render progress of our political life toward better things a certainty.

MAYOR McCLELLAN: Mr. Stetson, the Chairman of the Committee, will read the letter from the former President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt.

Mr. Stetson read as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, November 16, 1908.

My dear Mr. Stetson:

I regret that it is not possible for me to be present in person at the meeting held under the auspices of the Cleveland Memorial Committee. I wish you all success in your efforts.

I was a member of the Legislature when Mr. Cleveland became Governor of the State of New York at the beginning of the year 1883, and for the next twenty-five years on several different occasions I was brought into close contact with him. For two years during his second administration I served under him as Civil Service Commissioner. Like all others who were thrown closely with him, I was much impressed by his high standard of official conduct and his rugged strength of character. Not only did I become intimately acquainted with the manner in which he upheld and enforced the civil service law, but I also saw at close quarters his



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*With regards from
Theodore Roosevelt*

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

successful fight against free silver, and the courage with which he, aided by men like the late Senator Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, supported the judiciary at the time of the Chicago riot; and, finally, I happened to be in a position in which I knew intimately how he acted and the reasons why he acted in the Venezuelan matter. This knowledge gained at first hand enables me to bear testimony, which I am more than glad to bear, to the late President's earnest purpose to serve the whole country, and the high courage with which he encountered every species of opposition and attack. Owing to a peculiar combination of circumstances, he went out of office assailed even more bitterly by his own party than by the opposing party, and short-sighted people thought that the great mass of American citizens had repudiated him and disbelieved in him.

Six years later it happened that I was at St. Louis as President when Mr. Cleveland, then a plain private citizen, arose to make an address in the great hall of the Exposition; and no one who was there will ever forget the extraordinary reception given him by the scores of thousands present. It was an extraordinary testimony to the esteem and regard in which he was held, an extraordinary testimony to the fact that the American people had not forgotten him, and, looking back, had recognized in him a man who with straightforward directness had sought to do all in his power to serve their interests.

Moreover, all Americans should pay honor to the memory of Mr. Cleveland because of the simplicity

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

and dignity with which as ex-President he led his life in the beautiful college town wherein he elected to live. He had been true to the honorable tradition which has kept our Presidents from making money while in office. His life was therefore of necessity very simple; but it was the kind of life which it is a good thing to see led by any man who has held a position such as he held.

Again wishing you all good fortune, I am,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SACRED SONG,

“The Heavens Proclaim” *Beethoven*

CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA



Amuel Schulman

MAYOR McCLELLAN: Benediction will be pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman.

BENEDICTION

THE REV. DR. SAMUEL SCHULMAN

EVERLASTING God, who art nearest to us when in reverence we acknowledge Thy rule and when in humility we recognize duty as our service, we turn to Thee in the conclusion of this sacred memorial to ask Thy benediction. Bless, for the American people, the memory of Thy servant Grover Cleveland. Let the record of his strong character, his faithful stewardship in exalted office, his fine courage in leadership of men, be an inspiration growing from day to day in strength and leading the people to the understanding that righteousness exalts it. May the memory of his generous manhood, his civic virtue, his broad-minded Americanism, endure as a lesson to the republic, as the embodiment of its ideal of loyalty, that it is not conditioned by racial origin or creedal profession, but roots in the soul's love of freedom, of justice, of right, and of our devotion to the land and its laws.

Bless our beloved President of the United States who is with us, that he may lead in wisdom, in virtue and fear of Thee the American nation from strength

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

to strength. Bless this assemblage, that the glorification of the immortal dead may quicken the patriotism of the living. Bless every home and heart in our land in accordance with Thy threefold priestly blessing as it is written:

May the Lord bless you and keep you;

May the Lord let His countenance shine upon you, and be gracious unto you;

May the Lord lift His face upon you, and give you peace. *Amen.*



1892

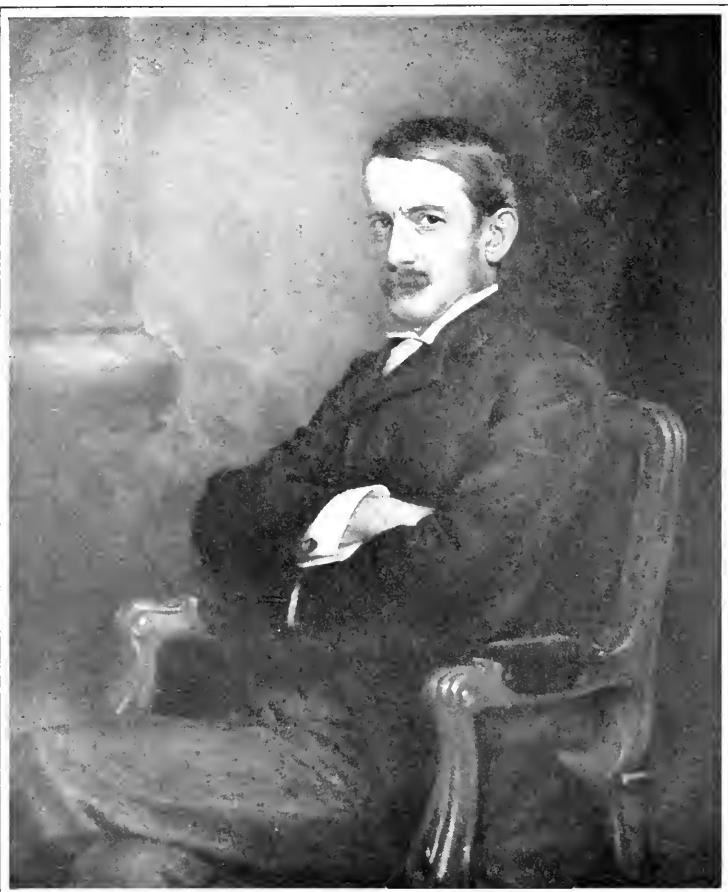
THE
GROVER CLEVELAND
MEMORIAL

THE GREAT HALL
THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

THURSDAY EVENING THE EIGHTEENTH OF MARCH
IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED
AND NINE, AT EIGHT-FIFTEEN O'CLOCK

ORDER OF EXERCISES

1	Organ Prelude—		
	Paraphrase on Handel Chorus	Guilmant	
	Rêve Angelique	Rubinstein	
	PROFESSOR SAMUEL A. BALDWIN		
2	Overture	“Coriolan”	Beethoven
	THE PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA		
3	Presentation of the Mayor as Chairman		
	The Honorable Edward M. Shepard		
4	Address	The Honorable George B. McClellan	
	Mayor of the city of New York		
5	Feldeinsamkeit	E. Wendel	
	THE UNITED GERMAN SINGING SOCIETIES OF NEW YORK		
6	Address	The Honorable Elihu Root	
	Senator from New York		
7	Siegfried’s Death “Die Götterdämmerung” .	R. Wagner	
	THE PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA		
8	Address	The Honorable George Gray	
	United States Circuit Judge		
9	a. Early Morning in the Field	R. Burkhardt	
b.	Soldier’s Farewell	Johanna Kinkel	
	THE UNITED GERMAN SINGING SOCIETIES OF NEW YORK		
10	Address	The Honorable William B. Hornblower	
11	Address	The Reverend Daniel J. Quinn, S.J.	
	President of Fordham University		
12	With Verdure Clad . “Creation”	Haydn	
	MME. LILLIAN BLAUVELT		
13	Address	The Honorable Charles E. Hughes	
	Governor of the State of New York		
14	Dankgebet	Ed. Kremser	
	CHORUS, ORCHESTRA AND ORGAN		
	Julius Lorenz, Conductor		



Edward M. Keppler

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY
OF NEW YORK

THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 18, 1909

MR. EDWARD M. SHEPARD

presented the Mayor as Chairman, and said:

THIS Great Hall and the buildings around are dearer to many of us because they and the college which dwells in them were so near, in his later years, to the great American whom to-night we commemorate. After three times he had stood first in the popular suffrages of his countrymen for the chief magistracy of the nation, after twice he had been chosen to it under the Constitution, after, for eight years, he had exercised its powers—after he had faced, while President, and afterward, when he had left the White House, the misunderstandings or even stormy hostility, as well as the cheers, of those masses of men to whom he rendered such enormous and enduring service, and—still after that—when, all such hostility and misunderstandings being finally conquered, he was left rich in the almost unanimous confidence and love of the land—then it was that he brought honor to the supreme cause of edu-

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

cation as it is here cherished by the city of New York. When, five years ago, the corner-stone of this building was laid and we welcomed a new chief and pilot of the college, Grover Cleveland came to us, helping by his strong and sympathetic support to exalt the work in which we were engaged. And when, last May, we dedicated the completed buildings, and when he could not, as he would, come to us—because he was near a far greater summons—then it was that he sent to us his dearest messenger again to bring his strong and sympathetic support.

So it is, Mr. President, Governor Hughes, and Mr. Mayor, that here, where the republic and its ideals of the future are in the making—here it is that we welcome you to this celebration of one of the chief heroes. And it is my privilege to ask to preside one to whom this college is in great and special debt. Ladies and gentlemen, I present, as chairman, his Honor Mayor McClellan.

MAYOR McCLELLAN

then spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The purpose of this meeting is to give an opportunity to those who were unable to leave their work to attend the meeting at Carnegie Hall this afternoon, to join in commemorating Grover Cleveland on the seventy-second anniversary of his birth.

We have met as citizens of New York to give public expression of the affection in which we held the man and the honor in which we hold his memory.

The heritage which Cleveland has left us is not so much the record of his specific achievements in statecraft as the character of the man himself. He succeeded in giving this country the kind of government in which he believed and in which his countrymen believe, because the people and he worked together for a common end. There was a partnership between them which began when he first entered public life and lasted until his death. It was a union in thought, in hope, in aspirations, and in ideals. It was the result of mutual confidence and mutual trust. The people believed in him, and he believed in the people. This implicit trust in the common sense and integrity of the people of the United States was the inspiration of his entire career.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

He was neither a demigod nor a demagogue, but a rugged, honest, broad-minded, wise American citizen. There was nothing sensational or theatrical about him. He did not appeal to his countrymen in their moments of excitement or thoughtlessness. He did not play upon their passions or their prejudices, but influenced and guided them through their sober judgment and their calm common sense.

Long after those of us who are here to-night have passed away the name of Grover Cleveland will live and still be honored and cherished in the hearts of the American people as that of a man who could not think an ignoble thought or do a mean action; a man who was intensely human and intensely American, whose leadership of his countrymen was no forced march, but who strove with all the honesty and intensity of his great soul to have them move forward with him in human progress.

I now present the Hon. Elihu Root, Senator from New York.



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John Root

SENATOR ROOT

IT is a grateful duty to pay public honor to Mr. Cleveland, because he was our friend and because all of us are his debtors for his inestimable service to our country.

It is not merely a duty to Mr. Cleveland's memory, it is an opportunity for Americans to signify their capacity to appreciate such a man as he was.

A nation may be known by the men it honors.

All the world honors genius; all the world is dazzled by military glory; all the world is swayed by power of leadership over masses of men; all the world extols great deeds done; but the best evidence of a nation's greatness, the best augury of its power to rise to higher levels of national life, is to be found in the exhibition of general and heartfelt appreciation of a noble character.

It is to the honor of America that the deepest, most lasting impressions from the times of Washington and of Lincoln are not so much what they did but what they were. Against the background of their arduous labors stand out the men themselves —the fortitude in adversity, the long-suffering patience, the indomitable will, the strength, the courage, the great-heartedness, the unselfishness, the devotion. The powerful influence of a strong and noble character made manifest in high station is the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

chief legacy of Grover Cleveland to his countrymen, and it can never be lost, for that influence has greatly moved his generation to higher conceptions of civic duty and independent manhood and public righteousness. Students of political history will remember the many good things he did; but all America has passed a step nearer to its ideals because of what he was.

He did not rise conspicuously above the men of his time in intellectual power. His mind gave forth none of those emanations of genius which the world admires at a distance and which make their way into the common apprehension only in after years. One of the elements of his strength was that his mind worked as the minds of most Americans work, only more powerfully and conclusively than most minds. He spoke and wrote distinctly truths that Americans generally were conscious of thinking vaguely. His words, backed by his great authority and still more potently backed by the example of his life, brought realization of great saving common truths that were being forgotten. He was a man of convictions, not extemporized for the moment, or for a purpose, but real, vital, and urgent. He thought them out and felt them through and through. His judgments were not the cock-sure opinions of ignorant conceit, but the result of mature deliberation. He gave enormous industry and pains to the process by which he reached them. He brought to his work strong practical common sense, a just and well-balanced mind, a temperament of sustained

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

vigor and without malice, sincerity of purpose, and, as time went on, ever-increasing wisdom and insight into life.

His convictions once settled, he was absolutely immovable in them. Neither political expediency nor personal fortunes produced the slightest effect upon his active adherence to them.

He believed the Silver Purchase Act was ruinous to the country, and he forced its repeal while the politicians of the country for the most part were cautiously sounding public sentiment.

He considered that the attitude of Great Britain in the Venezuela boundary controversy put at issue the Monroe Doctrine, essential to our national safety, and he unhesitatingly risked the wreck of his administration and a disastrous war in uncompromising committal to the application of the traditional American policy at all hazards to that concrete case. He came to the conclusion that our protective policy was wrong, and he risked and lost his reëlection by the tariff message at the close of his first administration. He was warned of the result by the advisers whom he trusted most, but that produced no effect whatever upon him.

Whether one agrees with his views or not, it is impossible not to find inspiration in the example of the man who would not wait for a safe reëlection to do what he believed to be right.

With high and unquestioning courage he stood always for what he believed to be just and honest and best for his country. With unconcealed scorn

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

and wrath he stood against all sham and chicanery.

He was not swayed by personal ambition or by selfishness. He thought always of his work and not of himself.

He was simple and unostentatious in his living. He had no thirst for riches.

He was sincere and outspoken, without the craft of the time-server or the false pretense of the demagogue.

He was kindly and affectionate—a good husband and father and friend and neighbor.

He remembered always with touching interest the undistinguished companions and scenes of his youth. Great station raised no barriers about his heart. He was loyal to his friends and to his ideals and to every cause in which he had enlisted.

For a quarter of a century after he was raised to power, in office and out of office he stood conspicuous before the world, a great figure of exalted citizenship, an evidence to all the young men of America that in this free republic the greatest success, high station, power, fame, can be won with truth, honor, and self-respect.

To honor him is to be lifted up in spirit, to remember him is to be grateful for our country's happy fortune and to be possessed of a cheerful hope for the future of a people that can bring forth such sons.



George Gray

THE Chairman then presented the Hon. George Gray, Circuit Judge of the United States.

JUDGE GRAY

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I deem it a privilege to participate in this demonstration. It was a saying of a great Athenian philosopher that the character of the city is determined by the character of the men it crowns, and we need not to despair of a public whose people delight to acclaim the public life and character of such a man as Grover Cleveland. These meetings of to-day bear witness that the higher ideals of citizenship, of public service and social duty, have not departed from among us. The things that best characterized Mr. Cleveland's administrations are those which make for the honor of our national life, the elevation of our citizenship to higher planes of thought and action, and for the stability of our institutions. It is a good thing in fitting phrase to laud the performance of duty in exalted station; it is better still to give living example to conscientious and courageous devotion to it, such as all men now perceive that Mr. Cleveland gave and exhibited in every grade of the public service, from the lowest to the highest to which he was called.

I rejoice to-day, as an American citizen, that the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

influence of his example is felt throughout the length and breadth of this dear land of ours, strengthening and uplifting the hearts of our countrymen with increased hope for the future and deepened reverence for the past. Now that the obscuring mists, engendered by party strife, have in large measure faded away, we can look back on Mr. Cleveland's two administrations through a clearer atmosphere, and recognize, as Americans and not as partizans, that he stood, with all the sincerity and strength of his nature, for those of his countrymen (let us hope the great majority of his countrymen to-day) who cherish the great traditions of the past, and those ideals which make for justice and civic righteousness. Strong administrations have signalized themselves along the track of the almost century and a quarter of our past history, and I hazard nothing in the statement that Mr. Cleveland's two administrations will in the future be classed among the strongest of these. They were strong by reason of his single-hearted devotion to the principles which he believed lay at the foundation of our free institutions, the sincerity of his character, and the uncompromising courage which he brought to the performance of every public service. He was instinct with the love of the equal opportunities guaranteed to all by our State and Federal constitutions, and rejoiced in the equality of all men before the law; that none was so humble as to be beneath its protection, or so high as to be beyond its control. His faith in these fundamental prin-

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

ciples was unswerving and vital, and was illustrated in his simple, unostentatious, official and private life.

There were grave crises in public affairs during his administrations, the dealing with which required high statesmanship, patriotism, and decision of character—questions which appealed to and excited the passions of large numbers of our people, and as to which public opinion was unsettled and disorganized, threatening the tranquillity of our country. His high official position gave him the opportunity of leadership and command, which, if he had failed in exercising, or had assumed with timidity and vacillation, could not have resulted otherwise than disastrously to our moral and material interests. But, fortunately, timidity and vacillation had no place in the make-up of Mr. Cleveland's character. He met the demands made upon him with the wisdom and firmness born of his sense of justice and his faith in the moral law. The high character and courage displayed in his leadership controlled the situation. Public opinion steadied itself, and we were saved from the perils and difficulties of an unstable standard of value and disordered finance largely by his clear perception of, and fearless devotion to, duty, as it was given to him to see it—a devotion to duty practised at no small cost of temporarily disrupted friendships and party ties.

He grasped the national powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government with a firm hand, and wielded them fearlessly for the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

preservation of the peace, honor, and safety of the republic. It was with equal promptitude and courage that he demanded of Great Britain that she deal justly with a weak and erring sister republic of this hemisphere, and insisted that the combinations of misguided men, who were inaugurating a reign of terror in the great metropolis of the West, should submit themselves to the law.

The clear, strong sense of duty which permeated his own life and conduct is beautifully portrayed in the few and simple words he applied to his friend and Secretary of State in his first administration, in a memorial address written just before his last sickness: "Duty was the word of command which, during all his life enlistment, he never failed to hear nor to unquestionably obey. It dominated his affections and impulses, and gave imperative direction to his thought and endeavor." That this was the keynote of his eulogy of his distinguished friend gives us an impressive word-picture of the man who uttered it, and we can see, in the thought that inspired it, his own self-consecration to duty, and how every selfish interest was subordinated to, and every less worthy motive dominated by, its controlling power. The now well-known phrase in which he simply and naturally expressed his all-pervading thought, that came almost unbidden to his lips, that "Public office is a public trust," has become, thanks to him, one of the commonplaces of our speech, which, like the precepts of the moral law, have served to crystallize the moral sense of the people

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

into an imperative rule of conduct. His sense of justice was clear, strong, and dominant, and he rarely failed, in his public utterances, to impress others with the justness of the ends he had in view, and with the sincerity and honest purpose with which they were pursued. If the inevitable influence of party spirit at the time prevented wider recognition of this, the recognition, though tardy, has at last come to Mr. Cleveland, as it has to others who have "wrought in sad sincerity" for noble ends. Mr. Cleveland doubtless loved the applause of his fellow-citizens, but it was the applause that follows, not that which is sought after. His strength of character enabled him to reconcile himself to the withdrawal of the sympathy and support of those from whom he had the right to expect both, and content himself with the joy that comes from loyal adhesion to conscientious convictions. I have spoken of his abiding faith in the moral law, as well as of his sense of justice, and I cannot refrain from quoting a single sentence, in illustration of both, taken from a message to Congress in which he earnestly pleaded that no present advantage should obscure the moral sense of the nation in its international affairs. "I mistake," he said, "the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one, and that, even by indirection, a strong power may with impunity despoil a weak one of its territory."

I would not be thought to mean that these great

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

qualities illustrated in Mr. Cleveland's public life are rare among our countrymen. God forbid! There were brave men before Agamemnon, as there were brave men after him. But, speaking with that moderation of statement which Mr. Cleveland himself loved, it is safe to say that, among the public men of this country who have combined all, or a part of, the great qualities I have so imperfectly attempted to portray, Mr. Cleveland must ever stand conspicuous.

His reputation is in the keeping of his countrymen, and his name will assuredly be added to the bead-roll of those who "have done the State some service," and have best illustrated in their lives the highest qualities of the race from which they sprang. "Rich in saving common sense," clear in his perception of duty, and with perfect courage in its performance, he stands as a type of that true Americanism which holds that moral obligations rest no less on nations than they do on individual men, an Americanism which is not truculent, aggressive, or boastful, but strong in its own self-respect, which demands nothing that it is not willing in reverse circumstances to concede, and will submit to no invasion of its just rights, as it will do no wrong to the rights of others; an Americanism that has created an honest, straightforward diplomacy that has helped to raise the moral standards of the world, and had made us a world power before Dewey's guns had waked the echoes of the Orient. He stood for the hearty and thorough recognition, by all who

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

were intrusted to any extent with the administration of the Federal Government, of the limitations upon the powers conferred by the Constitution; that powers not granted were withheld in the hands of the people, and that no authority but their will, expressed in the mode themselves have pointed out in the Constitution, could justify the addition to or enlargement of the powers they *had* granted. He invoked no doctrine of inherent sovereignty, by which to magnify and aggrandize the sphere of the general government, at the expense of those rights of local self-government reserved to the States. In the plain meaning of the language of the Constitution, he found expression of the people's sovereign will, and obedience to it was the supreme and religious duty he felt to be imposed upon him, and upon all who shared in the administration of government. To him, and such as he, it was the sacred charter of individual liberty, a liberty safeguarded by its limitations, as well as by its granted powers, and he believed that our constitutional government owes its strength not less to its limitations than to its powers.

Whether we as a people will continue to regard and maintain the restraints ourselves have placed on the exercise of governmental power, is the momentous question of to-day—whether a majority, held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, to use Mr. Lincoln's phrase, is to remain our ideal of free government, and the only true sovereign of a free people. Our highest hopes for the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

right solution of these questions have been strengthened by Mr. Cleveland's teaching and example.

It is thus only the priceless heritage of the individual liberty our fathers loved can be preserved, and the tyranny they hated can be avoided. And so, to repeat what I have said on a former occasion, we find that individual liberty is guarded by the most positive sanctions of our organic law, and these are the outgrowth of the spirit from which came the Declaration of Independence, that spirit which finds expression in the sententious phrase which flowed from the same pen that drafted its immortal lines, "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." These are not the recondite doctrines of a complex code of laws, to be dug out by lawyers and only understood by learned men. They are the practical, every-day muniments of our liberty. They are what have been called "fireside rights," which you and I must understand and value at their full worth, and must be ready to defend and fight for, if need be, that we may transmit them unimpaired to our posterity, as we have received them from our fathers.

We sometimes say our governments, State and national, are governments of majorities, and so in a broad sense they are. But the power of majorities is a limited power; limited by reason of the teachings and experience of the past, which had not been lost on the men who settled upon these shores. Absolutism found no place in our institutions of government. Absolutism is tyranny, whether it be that of a monarchy or a democracy, and tyranny

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

is as hateful to-day as it was to the fathers a century ago. We do not hold, you and I, our rights to personal liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness by so frail a tenure as that of the capricious and changing mood of a majority. No; they rest on institutional freedom, on the checks and inhibitions of our organic law—that law of the land which does not reflect the mere volatile humors and passions of the hour, but the settled, sober public opinion—that public opinion which is formed in the crucible of free discussion, and which is the outgrowth of our progressive civilization, safeguarding the activities of a free democracy, whose vital breath is personal and individual liberty.

It is individual liberty—not class liberty, not corporation liberty, not guild or society liberty—that our fathers fought for and established on this great continent. No! It was the right to your home; the right to go and come as you please; the right to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience; the right to work or not to work, and the right to be exempt from interference by others in the enjoyment of those rights; the right to be exempt from the tyranny of one man or of many; the right to so live that no man or set of men shall work his or their will on you against your consent. This is liberty worth living for! It is liberty worth dying for! And it was this blessed inheritance that has come to us from the fathers, and which means to us all that it meant to them. While it is maintained, all things are possible that tend to

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

the expansion, the development, prosperity, and glory of our common country. God grant that this liberty may live forever among us! That is what our flag means to us, and that, as it floats over the land and over the sea, is the message that it delivers to all the toiling millions of other lands.

But, fellow-citizens, this liberty cannot live unless it lives in the lives and characters of those who to-day enjoy it. It is not something that comes from the outside to us, as a boon to be enjoyed or thrown aside, as caprice or indifference may suggest. It can only exist by being cherished in the hearts and lives of each generation. Our free institutions depend on the courage, the faith, the honor, and the intelligence of our people. Unless your hearts and mine are full of the love of that same liberty, regulated by law, which has made us free in the past, these glorious institutions, and all that our flag symbolizes, will decay and fall, and our prosperity and happiness and hopes for the future will be involved in a common ruin. It is not foreign foes that we have need to fear, but the insidious enemies who seek to poison the minds and alienate the affections of our people from their ancient faith, who would undermine the foundations of a liberty regulated by law, with the vain hope that the petty tyranny of a class or corporation, or of a society, to which individual liberty and individual conscience are to be subordinated, can achieve the lasting happiness of those whose minds and character it has weakened or destroyed.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

This was the liberty dear to Mr. Cleveland's heart, and which he zealously and anxiously sought to defend, and we would be unfortunate indeed if we had reason to believe, as we have not, that that liberty was undervalued by those who succeeded him in his great office, or by those who hereafter shall hold the same high position. Mr. Cleveland had no sympathy, and little patience, with those who, in times of adversity and stress, preach the gospel of discontent, and seek thereby to alienate the hearts and minds of any portion of his countrymen from their love of our institutions, and from belief in their beneficence—that far too numerous class who, ignoring all counsels of manly courage and hopefulness, and appealing only to the meaner passions of our nature, envy, class hatred, and all uncharitableness, make the paralysis of hard times the stalking-horse of their selfish ambition. To use his own language, "those enlisted in this crusade of discontent and passion, proclaiming themselves the friends of the people, exclude from that list all their countrymen, except those most unfortunate or unreasonable, and those whom they themselves had made the most discontented and credulous." He believed, with all the intensity of his nature, in liberty regulated by law, a liberty which is not anarchy, and a law which is not despotism; and so, with the unfaltering faith and the unquestioning courage that he brought to the performance of every duty of his life, he stood as a "tower of strength, foursquare to all the winds that blew."

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

He has left his great name and the inspiration of his great example to his country, and we rest secure in the assurance that “whatever record leap to life, he never shall be shamed.”



Yrs sincerely, W. B. Horstbauer.

THE Chairman then presented Mr. William B. Hornblower.

MR. HORNBLOWER

AFTER the addresses we have listened to from the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, on the character and career of Grover Cleveland, I shall add only a few words as a personal tribute from one who was a friend and a political adherent throughout his public life.

It was my good fortune to meet Mr. Cleveland before he became Mayor of Buffalo, to have seen much of him when he returned to private life at the expiration of his first term as President, and again to have met him from time to time after his second term as President, in his quiet home at Princeton.

His life was full of remarkable vicissitudes of fortune. Through all those vicissitudes he remained the same quiet, unassuming, and steadfast man. Success did not turn his head or make him arrogant; temporary defeat did not sour or embitter him. The son of a Presbyterian minister, brought up on the precepts of the Bible, there was much of the vigor of the Puritan in his moral make-up, which was shown by his unswerving devotion to duty; there was much of the Hebrew prophet, which compelled him to "speak out and spare not." Without the

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

glamour of military glory, or the eloquence of impassioned oratory, or the arts of the scheming politician, his success was due to solid worth and force of character. And with what a magnificent contempt he regarded the demagogue, the time-server, and the trimmer!

The two conspicuous characteristics which marked Mr. Cleveland in the eyes of his contemporaries were his indomitable courage and his absolute devotion to duty. By these two characteristics he was known and judged or misjudged by the men of his own generation. Strong of will and sturdy of purpose, amid good report and bad report, in carrying out the right as he saw it, unswerving and inflexible in the teeth of bitterest denunciation and fiercest criticism—such was Grover Cleveland as men knew him.

Forceful, virile, unyielding—such was the Grover Cleveland of public life.

Underneath this outer man, however, there was another Grover Cleveland, quite unknown to the public, and even unsuspected, the modest, gentle, kindly, sympathetic Grover Cleveland of private life. Of this Grover Cleveland this is not the place nor the time to speak.

His character was an inspiration to the young men of my generation who were coming to maturity at the time of his first election. Here was a leader whose leadership meant something, who stood for principle, not expediency, and whom we could follow with enthusiasm and hope. There were those,

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

of course, who did not agree with the policies for which he stood, yet even those recognized and admired the outspoken, fearless, and disinterested manner in which he fought for these policies, accepting defeat when it came and victory when it came with the same calm and steadfast mind.

His yea was yea and his nay was nay, and no one could misunderstand the yea or the nay. Some might think him wrong in his opinions, but not one could think him insincere or uncertain.

Twice in his political career he risked the Presidency by the outspoken and emphatic expression of opinions—once on the tariff, in 1888; the second time on the silver question, in 1892—when he might without impropriety have kept silent. The first time he lost the office. The second time he gained it. But whether he lost it or gained it, he wished the people to understand clearly what he stood for, and to elect or defeat him accordingly.

It was my privilege to see much of Mr. Cleveland during the four years that he spent in this city between his two official terms, in the practice of his profession. The one thing that impressed me most about him was the absolute sincerity of his character. I never met a man who seemed so utterly free from the slightest trace of self-consciousness or of guile. What he meant he said, and what he said he meant. There was no mistaking his meaning, and there was no room for doubt as to his straightforwardness. He could not deal in nicely balanced phrases or ambiguous expressions of opinion.

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

There never was a man to whom the holding of public office was less of an object to be sought for for its own sake. To him the honor of the office was so greatly outweighed by the sense of responsibility that the burden was far greater than the pleasure. Especially was this so when called upon for the second time by the overwhelming mandate of the people in 1892 to assume the Presidency. He had already held the office for four years and knew full well its cares and its anxieties. He had had four years of the congenial labor and pleasure of professional and private life in which to reflect upon the four years of work, worry, and responsibility of public affairs. There was no glamour to him about the high office of the Presidency. There were no illusions to him about the resumption of that office. He knew full well that he was entering upon four years of bitter strife and turmoil. He knew that he would be obliged to contend not only with fierce opposition from the Republican party on the tariff question, but with still fiercer and bitterer opposition from within his own party on the silver question. On both of these questions his views were firmly settled and frequently and most emphatically announced. In many conversations which I had with him after his reelection in 1892, I was struck by the solemn sense of duty which animated him in looking forward to his new term.

There was none of the elation of victory—a victory won by the popular will and against the wishes of the politicians—a victory which might well have

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

turned the head of a smaller, a vainer, or a weaker man. There was none of the *gaudium certaminis* leading him to look forward with exultation to the conflict with the political adversaries whom he was to encounter. There was simply the solemn sense of duty to his country, and loyalty to his principles, and the firm resolve to be true to his conscience, whatever might betide him personally.

I first saw Mr. Cleveland in the summer of 1879, when he was a practising lawyer in Buffalo. He was sitting at his desk in his office, hard at work in his shirt-sleeves, on a hot July day. I was then a young lawyer just starting in my professional work. I had occasion to go to Buffalo on behalf of some New York clients to look after some important litigation against a prominent citizen of Buffalo. Having occasion to select a referee to try one of the branches of the litigation, I made inquiry of Buffalo lawyers as to the selection. All of whom I inquired agreed unanimously in recommending Grover Cleveland as the best man to act as referee in this particular case—as a sound lawyer and a man of courageous independence and impartiality, who could be relied upon to decide without fear or favor, however influential or locally powerful the defendant might be. After Mr. Cleveland had become President, the idea was sedulously fostered by his political opponents and generally accepted even by his political supporters that Mr. Cleveland was not a man of any prominence at the bar, but had achieved success only in public office. This is an entirely

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

erroneous idea. The fact is that for a number of years before he was elected Mayor of Buffalo he was a very active and very successful lawyer, recognized (as I have been repeatedly assured by Buffalo lawyers) as one of the first half-dozen of the leading men at the bar of that city, at a time when that bar stood exceptionally high in character, ability, and attainments. It was because of his well-known integrity and professional ability that he was selected as Democratic candidate for Mayor, entirely without his own seeking and against his own wishes, and was elected by the votes of independent Republicans. Thus began the remarkable public career which was to result in making him Governor of the State of New York and twice President of the United States.

I little thought when I saw Mr. Cleveland for the first time—hard at work in his law office in Buffalo—that within six years that quiet, modest, unassuming man would be President of the United States.

Yet his career was no freak of chance or accident. It was simply the result of his inborn capacity for doing his duty honestly and courageously and his absolute indifference to the personal consequences to himself. Each step upward was based upon the confidence inspired in the public mind by the faithful and fearless discharge of his duties in the lower sphere of public office. He never was a wire-puller or an intriguer. He could not have been had he wished to be. He was not built on those lines.

I well remember a conversation I had with him

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

in the White House just before his retirement to private life in 1889. He was speaking of his tariff message of the previous year. He said: "I was told that that message was unnecessary and unwise, that it would lead to my defeat, that all I had to do was to keep silent and I would be re-elected. Well, that may be, but I felt it would not be honest or fair to the people. And, after all, I have one consolation, it was right." That was the key-note of his entire public career. To be right as he saw the right, and to speak out for the right as he saw it, was his one principle of conduct.

He felt that he was not responsible for the result. If the majority of the people did not think he was right, he would cheerfully bow to their verdict; but to win their approval by concealing his own convictions was, he felt, to be untrue to his duty as a public servant.

To-day even those of his fellow-citizens who think he was wrong in his views on the tariff or in his views on the silver question recognize and admire the high courage and the noble disinterestedness of his loyalty to his own convictions.

I may be pardoned for one other personal reminiscence of Mr. Cleveland. It was on one of the few occasions when I saw him in the White House during his second administration. He was borne down by the burden of his responsibilities and his cares. He was smarting under the fierce invectives of his political adversaries within and without his party. He said to me with a tremor in his voice:

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

“My only object is to uphold the public credit, to prevent what I regard as a national catastrophe. I am not trying to play politics or to fight for or against my party. I may be wrong in my views, but I believe I am right. Whatever may be said or thought of me now, some day the people will realize that I tried to do my duty.”

That time has arrived. Over the grave of Grover Cleveland all men now agree that he tried to do his duty; that he did it loyally, courageously, steadfastly; that he was a true patriot, a great President, a noble American.

THE Chairman then presented the Rev. Father Quinn, S.J.

THE REV. FATHER QUINN, S.J.

THE surroundings in which we find ourselves this evening, assembled as we are in the Great Hall of the great college of the great city of New York to honor the memory of a great American, Grover Cleveland, one time President of these United States, naturally suggest the thought to one of my profession and to every one engaged in the sacred work of education that Mr. Cleveland was just the kind of a man the colleges of the country are striving to produce and give to the world.

In the presence of the distinguished gentlemen seated on the stage here this evening who knew Mr. Cleveland intimately, and after the excellent speeches you have already listened to with evident pleasure and approbation, it ill befits me to venture upon an exhaustive and accurate estimate of his life and his life's work. Yet I may claim the right, which is my heritage as a native-born New Yorker who loves his native city, who loves his native State, who loves his native country, with an ardor that is

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

second to no one else's in enthusiasm, to pass an honest judgment on the character of one of our public officials. If I may be permitted, therefore, to sum up all that has hitherto been said and at the same time express my own estimate of a man whose public career has always been a subject of deepest interest to me, I would say that Grover Cleveland was a man of clear mind, firm will, clean conscience, great heart, strong hand, direct speech, and simple manners.

What college is there in the land that would not be proud to claim such a man as one of her favorite sons? Yet no college may claim him, for Mr. Cleveland did not have the advantages of a college training. The short-sighted and narrow-minded among us might argue from this fact that a college education is not only unnecessary, but even useless for the right conduct of public affairs. But Mr. Cleveland was too broad-minded and too logical to come to any such conclusion. His views were quite the contrary. We have them on record.

Following the example of his predecessors in the White House, Mr. Cleveland, while President of the United States, attended the commencement exercises at Georgetown University. He was asked to make a few remarks. Addressing himself directly to the student body, he spoke in that simple, direct, earnest manner so characteristic of him, and left an impression that will never be effaced. He reminded the young men before him of the splendid opportunities within their reach for a training which would

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

fit them well for grasping, analyzing, and deciding to the satisfaction of all honest critics, however severe they might be, the important questions that are constantly confronting us in our civil life. He earnestly urged them to avail themselves of these opportunities. He sincerely lamented that he had not had the advantages of a college education, and frankly confessed that for lack of it he had been handicapped in his public life and had often labored under a stress to which he would not have been subjected had he been as fortunate as they in the circumstances of his early life. He went a step further and urged them to submit their hearts as well as their minds to careful training. He told them of the necessity of building up their moral life on principles that were deep-rooted in the Eternal Law, if they would be men true to duty's call. He favored true culture of mind and will and heart, a harmonious development of the whole man, an all-round training for the work of life.

Such were the views of Mr. Cleveland, and as he belongs to no particular college, all the colleges may claim him because of the deep and broad sympathy he felt for the work they are striving to do for God and country. Hence I may make so bold as to lay a tribute of praise from the colleges of the college world on the grave of Grover Cleveland to-night. And college officials may tell their young men, if you wish for a type of a strong, masculine, rugged American who has lived in our times and has worked under the same circumstances in which you are now

THE CLEVELAND MEMORIAL

placed, look to Grover Cleveland, take him for your model, and imitate his noble example.

THE exercises then closed with a brief address from the Governor of New York, of which, unfortunately, no record was kept.



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